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ABSTRACT

A special symposium held at the University of Southern California examined an agenda for action, "Social Research on Broadcasting--Proposals for Further Development," which was commissioned by the British Broadcasting Company and written by Professor Elihu Katz of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Participants included communications and broadcasting researchers and practitioners; students; and representatives of the television industry, community groups, business, and government. This document identifies the major areas of concern and highlights the issues explored, including portions of the formal presentations, discussions from the plenary sessions, and comments made in the small-group discussions. The first section is a brief overview of the Katz report itself. The second describes some of the reactions of participants and panelists to the report. Issues include the relevance of the findings for the United States, the validity of Katz's assumptions, and the nature of the broadcaster-researcher relationship. The third section discusses applications of the Katz report to the fields of entertainment and political reporting, to other research agendas, and to developing countries. The fourth section contains comments by participants on the future. (VT)

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SOCIAL RESEARCH AND BROADCASTING

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Proceedings of a Symposium

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INTRODUCTION

This document reports an event designed to examine an agenda for action entitled, Social Research on Broadcasting: Proposals for Further Development.[1] Written by Professor Elihu Katz, Director of the Communications Institute at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the agenda was commissioned by the British Broadcasting Corporation. The report was released in May 1977, and began to receive attention in the United States during the following summer. In August a special symposium was convened at the University of Southern California, the first opportunity in the United States for researchers, scholars, and practitioners to respond immediately and critically to the report. The group met for two days to discuss the report, ponder its application, and comment upon the validity and feasibility of its recommendations. This document reviews the proceedings of the symposium.

How does broadcasting affect society? What is the nature of audiences? Why are children sophisticated television viewers? What do broadcasters implicitly assume about their work? How can terrorism be presented on the television screen so that it does not lead to more terrorism? Is there an ideal relationship between broadcasters and researchers to address and answer these questions?

These are a few of the issues raised by Elihu Katz in an effort to devise a plan for research which would answer humanistic and social questions about television broadcasting. Katz visited numerous broadcasters' offices and research institutes in Britain and the United States in order to compile the information contained in his report. It therefore reflects a composite of priorities held by many people in broadcast research as well as an agenda for research in broadcasting over the next few years.

The symposium, sponsored by the Annenberg School of Communications, was designed to facilitate individual interaction and small group discussion. Some 85 participants attended, including communications and broadcasting researchers and practitioners, students, and representatives of the television industry, community groups, business, and government.

In addition to Dr. Katz, principal resource persons included Professor Percy Tannenbaum, Graduate School of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley; Dr. Jay G. Blumler, Director, Centre for Television

Research, University of Leeds, Leeds, England; Dr. George Comstock, Senior Scientist, Rand Corporation; Mr. William Rubens, Vice-President, Research and Corporate Planning, National Broadcasting Company; Dr. Billie Jo Wahlstrom, Department of English, University of Southern California; and Dr. Majid Teheranian, President, Iran Communications and Development Institute. A highlight of the symposium was the participation of Mr. Kenneth Lamb, Director of Public Affairs for the BBC, London, who was involved in commissioning the Katz report and who now directs the planning for an international trust to be established by the BBC to implement some of the research recommendations made in the report.

Professor Robert Filep of the Annenberg School was organizer, principal moderator, and chairperson of the symposium. Rapporteurs for the small-group sessions were Ms. Diane Bozler, Professor Richard Byrne, Mr. Herbert Dordick, and Dr. Thomas Martin, all of the Annenberg School.

These proceedings are not a direct transcription of all the remarks made during the symposium. Rather, the document identifies the major areas of concern and highlights the issues explored. It includes portions of the formal presentations, discussions from the plenary sessions, and comments made in the small-group discussions. The group assembling the document takes full responsibility for the quotes and excerpts from the transcript, recognizing that many comments have been inserted which were informal in nature. Had each participant been given an opportunity to revise and edit same they may have worded these differently. To do otherwise would have diminished the sense of dialogue and caused a delay in sharing what transpired.

The document is divided into four sections. The first is a brief overview of the Katz report itself. The second describes some of the reactions of participants and panelists to the report. Issues include the relevance of the findings for the United States, the validity of Katz's assumptions, and the nature of the broadcaster-researcher relationship. The third section discusses applications of the Katz report to the fields of entertainment and political reporting, to other research agendas, and to developing countries. The fourth section contains the comments on the future. The appendix contains a schedule of symposium events, biographical sketches of the principal participants, and a list of those attending.

Grateful acknowledgment is hereby extended to each of the following for their assistance in compiling and producing the document: Nan Fritz, Robin Greenway, Jean Hester, Loren English, and Barbara Fineman.

5 ---- Robert Filep, Chairperson

THE KATZ REPORT: AN OVERVIEW

The reader is urged to read the original report, Social Research on Broadcasting: Proposals for Further Development. It is rich in ideas, diverse because it reflects a number of viewpoints, and provacative because it outlines strategies, processes, and plans which are refreshingly new and relatively untried. This section briefly introduces the report, providing a context for the discussion and comments recorded at the symposium.

Katz was asked by the BBC to prepare an agenda for new projects of social research in the field of broadcasting which would take into account current and past research in Britain and elsewhere, and which would have policy and editorial implication for the BBC.

"The hint of a new deal in broadcaster-researcher relationships seemed unmistakable--and irresistible,"[2] Katz noted. He was motivated in part by his concern for the broadcaster-researcher relationship, which, in Britain he suggests, has been strewn with conflict.

"Broadcasters do not much appreciate the inclination of social researchers to make ostensibly simple things complex," he explains, "and the researchers do not much appreciate the inclination of the broadcasters to make complex things simple."[3] More important, however, broadcasters do not like the idea that researchers want to study them, and feel that researchers are "bent on finding fault and ignoring achievement"[4] yet researchers feel they are just doing their job.

His interviews with broadcasters and researchers led Katz to believe that things may be changing--"that we may be beginning on a new phase of better understanding."[5] He explains why he is optimistic about a rapprochement and suggests how the new relationship may be nurtured by distinguishing among several different types of research.

This summary of his report briefly discusses (1) why Katz believes that social research on broadcasting is at the threshold of a major expansion, (2) what he thinks should be studied--the research proposals themselves, and (3) how he thinks research and practice in broadcasting can be advanced.

Broadcasters and Researchers--A New Common Ground

One reason for Katz's optimism was a renewed interest on the part of broadcasters in the potential of social research to help answer perennial questions. He found that they wanted to know more about "how we are doing"--about their external and internal environments, about their clients, and about audience psychology and sociology. They also wanted to understand and assess "what we are doing"--they wanted a review of professional norms and routines and a re-examination of the conditions for optimizing professional creativity.

Katz suggests that these concerns are stimulated by:

--the competitiveness of broadcasting;

--a professional concern with service and with responsibility;

--anxiety over threats to the autonomy of the broadcast institutions;

--the need for a reliable and objective source of evaluation of performance and allegations of departures from rule, as a preferred method of "accountability";

--an interest in identifying and improving the organizational conditions which are conducive to creativity; and

--barriers to the diffusion of information on these subjects within the organization.[6]

Another reason for Katz's optimism lies in his view that communications research is experiencing a major revival. Communications research has been "liberated" from its traditional definition as the study of changes in opinion or the diffusion of information. Instead it is investigating the power of the media and the symbolic environment it creates.

He credits the U.S. Surgeon General's Research Committee on Television and Violence with giving new life to media research, particularly through "pump-priming" or commissioning of new studies, evolving new orientations in social research, particularly in reconnecting the broadcasting research to the study of entertainment. This reconnection to entertainment also expanded the focus of social research to include the humanities as well as the social sciences. The problems of identification catharsis in drama, structure, rhetoric, and language represent an obvious connection to the humanities.

Two other stimuli which revived media research were the writings of Marshall McLuhan and the success of Sesame Street. Katz writes that McLuhan, "more than anybody, caused researchers to broaden their definition of effect to include the effects of media per se (rather than message) on styles of perception and cognition."[7] In the case of Sesame Street

> a three-cornered team of producers, educational psychologists, and researchers joined forces, and in the context of a Foundation (and government) sponsored production company (and a lot of money) produced a programme that revolutionized children's television programming and caused the commercial companies to follow suit.[8]

Katz does not extol the merits of the program itself, but rather demonstrates the lesson of "formative research," whereby producers and researchers join together in a relationship which channels "audience reaction into a creative process."[9]

Six Programs of Research

Having identified the new mutual interests of broadcasters and researchers, Katz goes on to discuss his "agenda" for research. He begins with a caveat that there are

> a number of methods available to us--the survey, the field experiment, the laboratory experiment, the focused interview, content analysis, interaction process analysis, sociometry. Newer techniques are being tried--semiotics, for example. But we are seriously short of theory and method for describing "cognitive maps," for sampling conversation, for deep analysis of content, for measuring creativity, for describing complex decisions, etc. Indeed, contributions to methodology must be an important part of this research enterprise.[10]

His proposals are grouped under six areas of activity, three of which are concerned with problems of the media and three with problems of message. The media group includes

(1) the comparative study of the media, particularly the impact of broadcasting on society;

(2) the nature of the audience, i.e., the behavior of the individuals and groups as audience members; and

(3) the media as organization, i.e., the management of creativity.

The message group includes

(4) studies of news, information, and current affairs, what might be called programming reality;

(5) studies of entertainment, with particular emphasis on programming pleasure; and

(6) studies of social differentiation, or what might be called programming identity.

Media. The first group of proposals deals more with communications policy problems of society rather than policy and editorial concerns of broadcasting. Katz suggests that researchers

--study the earliest effects of the introduction of broadcasting (meaning mostly a review of the available empirical work);

--examine the effect of each medium (press, television, radio, etc.) on each other;

--study cognitive processing, such as the effects of words alone, words plus pictures, words plus pictures plus music;

--investigate the effect of the various media on language;

--review the communicative competence of readers, viewers, and listeners: What do they talk about? Do the structures and concepts of broadcasting enter into their conversations?

--examine how the media are differentiated in their perceptions of the public (television seems to be more generally associated with entertainment than with information); and

--determine how the media interact with other institutions such as unions, the press, medicine, and the civil service.

Audience. Katz contends that in spite of the mountain of available information on listening and viewing, wide differences of opinion exist about the nature of audiences. He proposes that audience research follow several lines of inquiry. For example, he suggests that we

--study how audiences classify and respond to program types;

--explore the notion of "connoisseurship": Have television and radio displaced the popular arts? Has broadcasting robbed culture of sophisticated and participatory activities?

--identify individuals who plan their viewing and indicate the sources they use to do so. (Why are certain programs more popular than one would expect for a given time and channel?)

--investigate whether individuals find viewing patterns which suit them (and thereby derive "gratification") or whether they expose themselves to programs randomly and casually but nevertheless do find different uses and gratifications which fit prior needs.

The Management of Creativity. Katz notes that though organizational studies are well developed in social science, only a few studies have examined organizations which create new things or ideas. He suggests that we

--review what we have learned from studies of management of other types of professional and creative organizations;

--conduct a sociological reconstruction of great moments in the history of creativity at the BBC (this would seek to determine the organizational conditions which produce great programs or radical departures);

--undertake experimental studies of the organizational conditions that are said to be linked to creativity, both in the literature and the various in-house BBC documents;

--study ways in which the audience may be contacted and exploited, not just for reactions but for "pro-actions"; and

--analyze correspondence received from BBC viewers.

News Information and Current Affairs: Programming Reality

> If the job of news and public affairs is to create an informed citizenry, the most elementary obligation of public service broadcasting is to determine whether and what the citizens understand. At one level it means whether confronting it, has been enhanced by the particular programme or by the particular mix of programmes to which they have been exposed.[11]

Katz continues that those interested in the field might

--study the audience's comprehension and recall of broadcast news and current affairs;

--examine motivation: What do people expect of the media? Have they similar or different expectations of several news media?

--encourage a team of newspersons and researchers to work together on the experimental design of prime time news and current affairs programs for television (this would bring producers' and journalists' ideas into regular experimental contact with audiences through researchers);

--define the underlying theory which guides broadcast journalism and initiate a search for its latent structure--the "theory of news in current affairs";

--identify indicators "of stability and change in society" and track these so that broadcasters can communicate trends toward change before an "event" occurs, instead of analyzing it only after it occurs;

--tackle the question of how broadcasters and researchers can work together to inform the electorate most effectively on the issues of an election campaign;

--examine some of the central problems of broadcast news--protest, conflict, and violence. How can terrorism be presented so that it does not lead to further terrorism; and

--study the interest in and functioning of childrens' news programs and learn how to expand young persons' cognitive maps of the world.

Entertainment: Programming Pleasure. Katz contends that entertainment is the primary function of television, but that social scientists know very little about it. He suggests that researchers

--define what is entertainment: What attracts viewers to certain types of programs? How can the understanding of viewers be enhanced? How can viewers be attracted to more complex entertainment?

--study fantasy and the uses of fantasy in the psychological development of children;

--monitor the boundaries of taste in the areas of language, sex, and violence, using the focused interview in addition to survey research and paying particular attention to generational and cultural differences;

--perfect content analyses of the latent content of entertainment, concentrating on the development of more formal and reliable methods and conduct simultaneous studies on whether the audience hears the message;

--encourage teamwork between researchers and broadcasters to attract audiences to more serious programming; and

--study the values of those who produce or encode programs: What are their images of society and values.

Social Differentiation: Programming Identity. Katz states:

> If the first function of reality programmes is to give the individual a sense of orientation to his world, and the function of entertainment is to engage the senses, the function of programmes and channels which take account of differences among social groups is, presumably, to strengthen the sense of self-identity. The legitimacy of serving minority interests is unquestioned

> at the BBC; issues arise, however, over the axes along which some minorities are to be defined, the resources to be allocated to each (channels, programmes) and the anxiety over contributions to the further fragmentation of the society.[12]

He outlines several projects for study, including the need to

- --determine the significance of the correlation of demographic variables (age, sex, education, ethnicity, etc.) with audience behavior: What is the cultural meaning of certain ages? What degree of class consciousness characterizes these groups?
- --explore the problems of "regionalism": What are the effects of "cultural areas" in terms of language, arts, customs, etc.?
- --study which people would like broadcasting to take special account of certain aspects of their identity: Which categories of people wish to find themselves on the screen or on the radio? Are people satisfied with the way in which they are being portrayed?
- --consider the problem of organizing broadcasting to serve differences: Are there conflicts likely to develop between programmes and regional alternatives? What are the hours of least and most conflict? What are the functions and dysfunctions of addressing minorities?
- --investigate the importance of tastes and interests as bases for differentiation, to "trace the webs of social connections which link people with similar interests, or which act as networks of interpersonal diffusion. From them, ideas about programming will follow. And to them, differentiated programmes can be directed."[13]

Getting the Work Done

Katz suggests that the best way to proceed is to review the functions of research implicit in the proposed studies. These functions might then suggest a basis for a division of labor in carrying out the projects; they might also lead to suggestions for how broadcasters and researchers might profitably work together. "If we can establish that there are different types of research that imply different degrees of cooperation and closeness between researchers and broadcasters, we shall have gone some way toward clearing the air."[14]

Katz then goes on to identify three major types of research. The first is "evaluation research" and answers the question "how are we doing?" The second is called "critical research" and answers the question "what are we doing?" The third is called "diagnostic research" and answers the question "what should we be doing?"

Evaluation research consists of traditional audience measurement, including the development of more subtle measures of appreciation and response. Katz suggests that the major problem of evaluation research is to expand and refine the concept of effects and the methods for studying them.

Critical research keeps a continuous check on the values, tacit assumptions, and paradigms that guide broadcasters in their decisions, and systematically monitors content for balance and possible bias. The treatment of conflict is high on Katz's list of critical research projects.

Content analyses of broadcasting output form a core for a kind of research which helps broadcasters keep tabs on what they are doing; how many hours, for example, are devoted to one party or another? The chief characteristic of these studies is their attempt to measure television treatment of a problem against a norm, such as the proportional distribution of time among political parties.

Diagnostic research aids in policy and program making because it serves as a conduit through which society--the audience--is filtered into the creative process. An example would be experimentation with alternate forms of presentation of news. This needs more than a survey; it requires producers and researchers to work as a team, testing and retesting materials and formats and this kind of work is called formative.

Formative research (diagnostic) must be done by researchers and broadcasters together. Evaluation research must also be close. Audience measurement requires translation and tailoring to the needs of executives and program makers. There must be minimal distance--physical and psychological--between researchers and broadcasters if the full value of research is to be obtained from audience figures and demographic correlates. The same is true for evaluative studies of the functions and effects of media and programs. However, critical research--the monitoring of conflicts, the measurement of bias, observing decision-making, even evaluation of experimental changes in organizational structure--can all be done at greater distance.

Clearly, Katz leans heavily toward research that is close to the broadcaster. His view of research is that it should be part of the creative and policy process, and that the competitive system of broadcasting requires that it be part of this process.

Katz concludes his report with a discussion of the resources needed to implement his ambitious agenda: manpower and money. He has ideas, but no perfect answers to problems of resource acquisition.

Katz's conclusion emphasizes his belief that there is plenty of common ground between broadcasters and researchers, and that research and practice in broadcasting can be advanced substantially if

(1) broadcasters and researchers can pace off the distance that is required to carry out the projects in which they have a joint interest;

(2) the feedback process for communicating the results of research to broadcasters (and to colleagues) can be improved;

(3) long-term commitments can be made to develop academic research on broadcasting at the universities which have already won renown in this field, as well as at the universities and polytechnics where new groups are forming; and

(4) sociologists and social psychologists join hands with the cognitive psychologists, political scientists, students of culture, linguists, geographers, and others who can enrich communications research.[15]

Scenes from the Symposium

Point and Counterpoint!

Interaction and Response!

REACTIONS

Many symposium participants thought the Katz report was a major contribution to the field of communications research. "To my knowledge it represents the first attempt to provide a systematically organized agenda of broadcast research in a single document," said William Rubens of NBC. Participants were separated into groups for an extensive discussion of Katz's assumptions as well as his proposals. Their comments are organized around three key issues--the relevance of the findings for the United States, the validity of Katz's assumptions, and the nature of the broadcaster-researcher relationship.

The American Versus United Kingdom Context

What caveats must be observed in applying Katz's recommendations in the American setting? As their comments indicate, the symposium participants pointed out important differences that distinguish the American setting from that of the United Kingdom: the commercial nature of the U.S. broadcasting industry and the important role played by advertisers, the way research is planned and the available funding sources, the numerous groups involved with research, and the horrendous task of obtaining a coordinated effort.

Specific differences between the British context and the American context include: the BBC revenues are a result of licensing fees and the intention is that they should serve the public; that American networks' revenues come from advertisers and they feel there is really no such obligation despite the statements in the law; that the British context is much more explicitly geared to an expectation of public service.

It was even suggested that in the United States there are no expectations of quality on television and in the United Kingdom there is expectation of high quality. In the U.K. when there is a bad show people are surprised and disappointed; in the U.S. when there's a good show they are surprised and delighted, and that the difference in the basic backgrounds poses all kinds of questions about the research that would be done.

----- The Blumler Discussion Group

The solution that Katz proposes for gaining acceptance among broadcasters for the findings of social and behavioral science may not be transferable from the British to the American government. Katz urges closeness and cooperative endeavor. This is not compatible with the sociology and structure of American broadcasting, where academic researchers and broadcasters inhabit much more separate worlds and broadcasting is much more divided and competetive. Closeness and cooperation in the United States would mean three separate research agendas for each of the three networks.

----- George Comstock

Since network management in the U.S. is committed to a program of quality research within their own company, their priorities are quite different than those outlined in the Katz report. Today, for example, broadcasters are concerned with political and pragmatic assaults on the structure of broadcasting arising from special-interest groups, while apparently the BBC is more concerned with conceptual and intellectual matters pertaining to broadcasting.

----- William Rubens

We basically came to the conclusion that there is no single agenda in the United States. Industry sets its own agenda based on the problem it is currently facing and as a matter of fact each different network has its own - totally individual - way of doing so. The academicians for a long time have set their own agendas for themselves. Only as research funds have started drying up have they started getting interested in cooperating with the networks. The consumer groups set up their agendas and to some extent those may be some of the more important agendas as groups like Nick Johnson's group, Action for Children's Television, or George Gerbner with his violence indicators, all keep hammering home issues.

----- The Comstock Discussion Group

In particular, there was a difference of opinion in the nature of the organization in the States and in Great Britian. In particular, those of us from the States felt to do research, it would have to be acceptable to researchers, to the broadcasters, to the public, and to the government. Whereas it was felt that in England it was probably not wise that the government be involved at all, that it be primarily responsive and be acceptable to broadcasters, the public, and researchers.

----- The Lamb Discussion Group

We also recognized that we have advertisers in the United States, independent producers of programming, many different networks, consumer groups, the government, and a multitude of different types of researchers. It may be much harder to get the type of coordination that we had imagined from the Katz report.

We discussed to some extent the possibility of even getting the networks to work together with something similar to the American Petroleum Institute, where you have an industry group that would do research. It was really felt that that wouldn't work because it would be too much defending of the industry and that would look bad in the United States, and should not be done.

----- The Comstock Discussion Group

We recognized, at least in the United States, that research planning is totally chaotic. Some people thought that was a good idea, but other people definitely didn't. It would be much nicer to have a more structured communication research program and actively go after the answers to certain questions.

Then we got to worrying about the people who phrase the question. Are they the ones who already have answers they want to have found out? We decided that perhaps one of the better things might be to improve communication between communications researchers, so they could coordinate their activities.

----- The Comstock Discussion Group

There is a very grave absence of dialogue in the United States, between broadcasters and researchers; in the United Kingdom there is conflict and tension between these two bodies, but not an absence of interaction. The idea is rather too commonly held that researchers will somehow become contaminated.

In fact, it was suggested that many of the social scientists who are most willing and eager to rush in and do funded research here may be the ones who are conning broadcasters and are the least reliable to get the work done. The suggestion was that there's been very little dialogue for a very long time and the first step is to start interaction at some level.

----- The Tannenbaum Discussion Group

While it has an obvious British focus, its main underlying theme of finding a common meeting ground for research between the perspectives of those responsible for getting broadcasting materials on the air and the scholars who examine broadcasting's role and effects can readily be generalized to other national systems, including the American one. It is all too easy to say that because the American system if fundamentally different in regulation and economic support, it must call for a different research agenda, but I think this would be a serious error and would deter significantly from the Katz report's main contribution.

This approach invited both observational studies, and, more significantly, joint 'formative' research undertakings which, if heeded by both parties, might well represent a major change in the focus of communication research for the next decade.

----- Percy Tannenbaum

The Assumptions Upon Which the Report is Based

Katz's examination of the present state and possible future directions of research and broadcasting was based on certain assumptions. Symposium participants questioned some of these assumptions, particularly those in the following areas: the exclusion of the social implications of advertising, the lack of attention to certain aspects of global culture, the feasibility of the agenda, the need (is there one?) for broadcasters and researchers to work together, a hazy definition of expected results, the funding arrangement, and the importance of documenting research that already has been done.

One reason why there are nay-sayers in the research community is because, from an ideological standpoint, they cannot accept some of the underlying assumptions which presumably do feed the basis of this report. Now Elihu, in his remarks, stated what some of those assumptions might be. Let's put it like this: first of all, well-geared research properly done and so on, can help in some sense or other to improve broadcast programming. Assumption one. Assumption two: improved broadcast programming, in the sense he defined, can help us in some way to build a better society. Assumption three, and this is one where the nay-sayers come up against some problems, the existing communications institutions and the existing broadcasting organizations are basically capable of doing those sorts of programmes that will help us build and improve society. Now some of those nay-sayers don't believe that.

----- Jay Blumler

Is this, in fact, an agenda for the past? The Katz report overlooks the social implications of advertising, it overlooks the flow of television set control among audiences, it overlooks the effect of new technologies. It also tends to overlook whether in a pluralistic society where audiences are fractionated, a mass medium has an obligation to meet various needs of the various audiences.

----- The Tannenbaum Discussion Group

Although the paper is called, "Social Research on Broadcasting: Proposals for Further Development," some members of our group felt that this was being posited as the desirable agenda to, you know, lead on, to march to. There was strong general agreement that such policy-oriented research a la Katz is strongly desirable; that there are varying special interests that may or may not be represented here, that there are items that are or less important, and that the agenda could be expanded or contracted. We felt that the key problem in this kind of social research agenda is the existing character of relationship between broadcasters and researchers, both as institutions and as mentalities.

----- The Blumler Discussion Group

We questioned the feasibility of the agenda, whether the work could be done, whether it wasn't much too large, and that there seemed to be an implicit statement of values built into the report. It is overwhelming in scope, difficult to pursue, and we wonder how it leads directly to what the broadcaster is interested in. We want to make good popular, and popular good. Who knows what is good? One of the members said that ballet is good, and how to make ballet popular is to do the dancing nude, therefore people would watch it, then Archie Bunker would watch, and the people interested in ballet would be very happy. It is the responsibility of broadcasters to inform citizens in a democratic society and to provide specialized programs; and to provide specialized information as well as entertainment to smaller groups.

----- The Lamb Discussion Group

How can we or they help audiences to know that this is good, or more informative, programming? Why should those audiences see better programs? You posit some kind of benefit that inevitably flows from being exposed to what you consider to be a good program.

Now, I'll give you one piece of reportage from the New York Times that suggests that you may be wrong! Macbeth was done for a group of uneducated elderly people in an old people's home and one woman summed it all up by saying, "But what did she do wrong? She was trying to help her husband." Now what you might do first, is to ask, what kinds of benefits are you really seeking and I'd like to see that articulated; and second, I'd like to see if those benefits were not really being achieved in what you might call a not-good program.

I suggest you take the poor souls who really don't want to ever listen to your kind of program and lure them in or pay them to come in, or truck them in an inadvertant way and then study really what have they perceived. In other words, you have in one way or another forced exposure upon the audiences who never self-expose.

----- Hope Klapper

The difference between encouraging dialogue between industry and social science, which was supported by everyone in the group, and social scientists demanding or wanting industry to fund research, is quite a different issue entirely. One assumption being expressed was that researchers like to pretend to be objective and almost regard broadcasters as prostitutes and we even talked about getting into bed with broadcasters. And yet researchers want broadcasters to provide the money to support the empirical research. Is that realistic and is it appropriate?

----- The Blumler Discussion Group

Why do we all have to come together in some mushy center? Part of the thrust of the Katz report is that we ought to be working together more nicely than we are, but to some extent we already are working nicely together. Those who aren't perhaps would prefer not to be working together.

----- Herb Schiller

I'm hearing that there may be a myth concerning little or no research going on at the networks and their affiliates. In order to dispel the myth there appears to be an immediate need to do some documentation of the type, level, resources, and methodology that's being used, without violating the proprietary nature of the activities or the results.

----- Robert Filep

We felt that Professor Katz was looking for the commonality between broadcasters and researchers, and that the report does proceed on the right assumption. However, it should be realized that had broadcasters been put into a room by themselves and allowed to dream about the kinds of research that they would like to see done, the results might have been entirely different.

----- The Tannenbaum Discussion Group

The methodology of studying response may be a misreading or may be misleading because the environment is so homogeneous, is so total if you like, that it is hard not only for the audience but also for the researchers to ask the right questions because they themselves are enveloped in that frame of reference and this of course is related to the larger question which is implicit, namely, as to whether the celebration of the status quo in this symbolic environment isn't really the message of broadcasting and how do we sort that out, if it is so.

----- Elihu Katz

The Broadcaster-Researcher Relationship

As discussed earlier, the Katz study was motivated in part by Katz's concern for the broadcaster-researcher relationship.

> The report takes as a given the assumption that broadcasting is a public service. It is the job of the broadcasters to inform, to create intelligent "connoisseurship", to address the needs of the sub-groups...researchers have, as professionals, this same kind of commitment and it's on this basis that I do insist on the ultimate commonality of these two groups. This does not mean that the only relationship is hand-holding. It may well be that an adversary relationship is in fact a healthier one.
>
> I think the relationship between broadcast decision-makers and broadcast researchers is a real issue. If we can help give it shape as a result of this report and without reference to a specific item, I think that will be the major contribution.

The participants responded to this issue in several ways. Some felt that any application of research findings to the creative process might constitute an undue imposition. Others echoed Katz's plea for a better dialogue and commented on the means necessary to implement them.

I have a strange series of images of this new kind of social science researcher--working with the writer, on the set, right there in the studio, explaining, "Watch out for that! That could be a problem! This could be a problem!"--this could be a problem.

Looked at historically, I have the image of Sophocles, for example, in the city of Athens with its public theater as a mass form of entertainment, trying to get his plays edited and produced, with an executive board and a team of researchers and the networks all saying, "Wait a minute Sophocles--you don't understand! Why, the social ramifications! Now, Freud hasn't been born yet but we all know that if a little boy sees a man marrying his mother. . .I mean, think of the things that might happen in Greece based on that!"

And so, Sophocles might not have written Oedipus Rex and that would be out of our culture. And if you went a little further? Think of Chaucer writing in the vernacular in the public Forum! We wouldn't get too much of the Miller's Tale because it's so full of "filth." And then we move to Shakespeare's The Old Globe, and an executive board and a researcher are

explaining the various ills that would come to the English public by watching Merchant of Venice or Othello with the stereotypic concepts of Othello--black and white and the interaction there--or the Merchant of Venice would have to be produced without the Merchant of Venice. . .

I'm a little frightened, I'm a little concerned. I think the social science researcher has to have something here, too. There's got to be someone sitting on our shoulders saying, "Don't go too far, don't draw this out too much or you will computerize the future and there will be no future Shakespeare and there will be no Chaucers of the future."

What we will do is end up driving all the creative people out of the industry; researchers will have to write the scripts; they won't be able to do it so they'll plug it into the computer and the computer will write the script! I don't know if that's what we really want for our grandchildren.

----- Andrea Rich

I wonder, frankly, about the interference with the evolution of Sophocles and Chaucer and Shakespeare out of the present system, just as much as I would agree that there is danger to the evolution of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and the others out of this proposed approach. So our problem, as I see it, is to recognize that we're all a part of the problem, no one of us has all the answers, no one of us has all the solutions. I admire very much Dr. Katz's non-advisory recommendations in his proposal and if we start being allies instead of adversaries and we recognize that all of us are making a contribution to the resolutions, recognizing that there is no right way to be a human being, no matter which way you go there are dangers.

----- Roderick Gorney

Roses, however, do have thorns and there are several issues that Elihu's report raises that I think we shouldn't ignore. One is that any agenda of research priorities is very dependent on the underlying assumptions. And the underlying assumption here is that broadcasters and researchers have shared interests. They share a lot of interests. I think that's true. At the same time, by casting things in a framework that is congenial to broadcasters, certain kinds of issues, very possibly, get overlooked.

----- George Comstock

Our group felt that the recommendations will be carried out with a great deal of difficulty, especially in view of the current relationship between broadcasters and researchers in this country. Someone suggested that researchers need to raise their credibility with broadcasters and do research that has predictability for the broadcasters. On the other hand, broadcasters have to be open to the idea of trying to implement the research findings.

----- The Tannenbaum Discussion Group

Broadcast management at the networks hires professional people, who it hopes are competent, and holds them responsible for keeping current with the latest developments in research. Thus, I think they have different priorities at the networks. They are committed to research but they are more concerned, perhaps, with the political and pragmatic assaults on the structure of broadcasting arising from special-interest groups rather than interpreting the concerns that you have expressed.

----- William Rubens

There is a conspiracy of silence by social science researchers to speak out against bad research or to speak out against misapplication of their own research results. It was suggested that there are different kinds of intervention at different times of the year, that there are ways for broadcasters and researchers to work together but the researcher has to know what the calendar is for the programmer, that in the spring when they're preparing a program they need someone who will be willing to take a stand and say, "the data, as of now, suggests. . ." and there's a very great reluctance to do that. For mutual relationships there need to be safeguards in terms of accountability and safeguards against misapplication.

There was also a suggestion that the parties that really might be involved would be the researcher and the broadcast manager, the researcher and the program practices arm of the network, or the researcher and the independent program production units, such as MTM.

The final comment was that there needs to be the kind of hand-holding that was implied in the Katz report which was suggested by one speaker in our group that is assumed to be a form of prostitution, that hand-holding of that kind is not acceptable. There needs to be mutual respect based on integrity.

----- The Blumler Discussion Group

One of the things we felt was missing was training in this transliteration, or translation or interface between broadcasters and researchers--that the gap between them may be broader than implied and there doesn't seem to be anybody addressing how to get on with that business.

----- The Blumler Discussion Group

APPLICATIONS

The symposium provided an opportunity for experts in areas specifically covered by Katz's recommendations to discuss how the proposals might apply or relate to their research. The first area was entertainment, and the speaker was Percy Tannenbaum of the Graduate School of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley. The second was politics: this issue was addressed by Dr. Jay G. Blumler, Director of the Centre for Television Research at the University of Leeds, Leeds, England. George Comstock, Senior Scientist at the Rand Corporation, shared his thoughts on the third topic: the general list of agenda items. Finally, the applicability of the Katz agenda to developing countries was discussed by Majid Teheranian, President of the Iran Communications and Development Institute.

That's Entertainment!--Television and Entertainment

Katz asserts that entertainment is "the primary function" of television, yet researchers have tended to study television only as "an agent of information, not entertainment." Percy Tannenbaum praised Katz's emphasis on the entertainment function of broadcasting and commented not only on Katz's proposals, but also on his own research findings.

One of the more remarkable characteristics of communication research in broadcasting is the very significant gap between what is mostly offered over the air--and what probably constitutes the motivation for people watching in the first place--and what researchers have chosen to focus upon. Perhaps initially because we thought we had an appropriate methodology for measuring information gain and attitude change, we chose to focus on what people apparently learn from television and how they feel about things in their environment.

Without belittling these research foci in any way, I still find it astounding that most researchers have largely avoided coming to grips with the major role and purpose of the medium, which is clearly in the realm of entertainment. One of the significant features of the Katz report is its call to redress this situation.

Motivation. A likely place to start such an investigation is with the motivational aspects of entertainment. 'To be entertained' appears to be an almost universal phenomenon in terms of most individuals seeking out some form of amusement and spending significant periods of their leisure time with it. Why is this so? What are the immediate rewards and gratifications of such activity?

The widespread adoption of television, with its heavy emphasis on entertainment content in most of the world, represents an obvious focus for such study, not the least significant feature of which is the apparent widespread popularity of the same programs (e.g., 'The Forsythe Saga' or 'Kojak') in what seem to be very adverse cultures. Research in this area has focused on the 'push' aspects of the cross-cultural exchange, with its charges of 'cultural imperialism' and the like based on temptingly low distribution costs, but has neglected the even more obvious 'pull' aspects, the tremendous popularity many such programs appear to have almost universally, despite apparent barriers to easy understanding.

Processing. Another significant area is how such entertainment content is processed. The Katz report mentions in passing the notion of differential processing of different types of information as between the left and right hemispheresof the brain, one dealing apparently with the more linear, 'logical' activities, the other with the more spontaneous 'emotional' and pictorial.

There is indeed some evidence for such a distinction (although it is not all it has been cracked up to be in various popularized versions), which accordingly invites the notion that different modalities of communication are processed in different parts of the brain. We obviously need to know about any such differential information processing and neural activity, but we also have to recognize that even if there were such a distinction, it is not an either/or situation. The mature individual is quite capable of engaging in both activities simultaneously. This, in turn, invites the possibility that while different mechanisms may be involved as between the emotional and the cognitive, one may influence the other.

My own approach to this area has been characterized by such conceptualization. Personally, my colleagues and I view one aspect of entertainment motivation being the experiencing of modest amounts of emotional arousal with very minimal degrees of effort and cost. Possibly via innate mechanisms, certainly accompanied by acquired ones, the individual becomes conditioned to react physiologically to certain types of 'arousal' stimuli There is clear evidence of different types and degrees of physiological response that are reasonably consistent across numbers of different individuals to the same content, as well as differences between categories of content. What is quite surprising is that often such evidence of arousal is obtained even in the presence of knowledge of its 'unreal' qualities and deliberate effort not to be stimulated.

But such physiological change is not the full story. The individual seems to be compelled to make some sense of his environment and accordingly searches it for explanations for the experience's excitation, for something to which it may be attributed. This introduces the role of cognitive consideration which, especially in our research on violence content and aggressive behavior, appear to play a significant role. Aroused individuals do respond to their arousal, as such, but also to their 'interpretation' of their arousal and then behave accordingly to what they take as a suitable explanation.

Antecedent Conditions. This basic formulation has led to some interesting (to those of us engaged in it at least) further lines of research. One has dealt with the role of antecedent conditions, seeking to address such questions as which kinds of immediately preceding states of the individual lead him to (a) seek more or less entertainment, (b) engage in such activity more or less readily, (c) stick with it more or less longer, (d) react to it more or less intensely. While some consistencies have emerged to date, there is also enough evidence to suggest that seeking out and engaging in entertainment behavior is not a function merely of prevailing or induced antecedent considerations.

We have some evidence to suggest that another governing condition is the anticipated consequences of the activity. The degree to which the person expects to engage in some specific kind of behavior following the exposure, immediate or delayed, clearly plays a role as well, especially in enhancing the influence of the cognitive labeling. Such factors are important in themselves and also interact with various antecedent conditions. Clearly, explaining entertainment behavior will be as complicated as attempting to account for any other type of human behavior (which is no excuse not to pursue it).

Some start has already been made in examining entertainment behavior from a developmental perspective. Already, there is evidence to suggest that young children learn to react more to some stimuli than to others (again, there is some suggestion of a basic 'emotional vocabulary' being present at birth) and in adapting their behavior to their reactions. Our suspicion is that while different diets of experience will lead to different types and degrees of reactivity and arousal, the heavy use of such a medium as television probably accelerates this process.

Along similar lines one might speculate that progressive experience with television as the child develops allows him to become a more sophisticated viewer earlier. There is much talk about teaching 'visual or video literacy' these days but one wonders if it is really necessary. If a child can learn to speak a native language without formal instruction, why can it not learn to understand a medium such as TV the same way? A reasonable assumption, open to testing, is that the child can learn to read the different messages of TV as it goes through progressive stages of development. This should apply particularly to entertainment content with which the child has a larger variety of experience than with, say, the news content. We have evidence that it is difficult to 'fool' TV-wise inner city ten-year-olds by labeling newsreel scenes as coming from a fictional show and vice-versa--they turned out to be highly sophisticated about such factors as pacing, camera angles, and the like, that serve to discriminate one kind of format from another.

Entertainment First. Another problem worth addressing is why individuals will repeatedly expose themselves to many forms of entertainment but presumably less to non-entertainment materials. We have evidence of people deliberately choosing to watch a rerun of a show they saw earlier in the week from a wide range of alternative opportunities and of preferring 'playbacks' of past highly exciting events (e.g., reliving an exciting sports match) to similar new but uncertain offerings. Is this merely to recapture a former state of excitement or is there an incentive in the reiteration per se?

Entertainment programs should constitute a particularly interesting area for the kind of formative research discussed above and referred to in the Katz report, especially in trying to find ways in making 'the good popular and the popular good' (which Kenneth Lamb rightfully identifies as one of TV's main tasks). In this context, it must be recognized that quite often the motivations and central concerns of the 'creative people' in television are quite different from those of the researcher. Both represent professional groups in their own right, each with its own set of standards, goals, incentives, and self-serving interests which coincide less than they do not.

National Politics! National Politics!--Television and Politics

Katz feels that broadcasters and researchers should tackle together the problem of informing the electorate most effectively on the issues of an election campaign. He contends that both have a right and a duty to participate in the design of an election campaign in a way that will inform citizens without alienating them. In his address to the plenary session, Dr. Jay G. Blumler elaborated on the role of television in elections. He commented in particular on a study he was about to undertake on the uses of television and radio during the two British elections of 1974. The study was supported by three major political parties in England --the Conservative, Labour, and Liberal parties--and by the BBC and the IBA.*

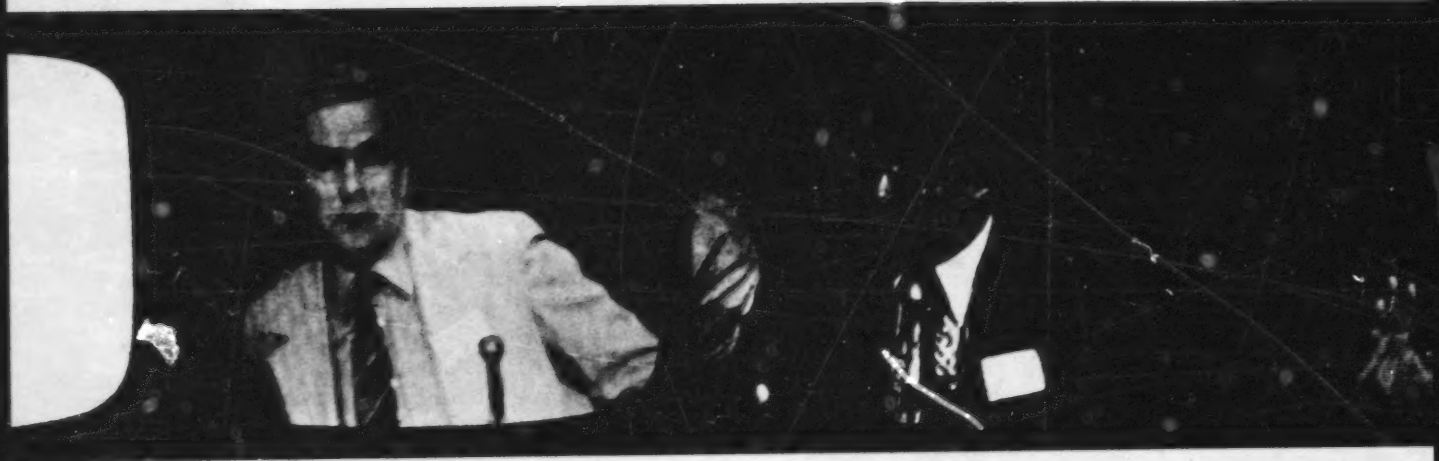
We assumed from the outset that television exerts a formative influence in shaping election campaigns, certainly in affecting politicians' behavior, and possibly in guiding voters' perceptions and reactions as well. It delivers to the parties--at one go and in an endless succession of such "goes"--a bigger audience than they could ever secure by their own unaided efforts and that they ever secured in the days before broadcasting came on the scene.

Television is also the one information source which invariably receives more mention than does any other when people are asked--not just in Britain but in many other countries as well--which medium they depend on most for following the election. Its massive presence has stimulated a host of party publicity adaptations--in rhetorical manner; in the length, content, style of messages; and in the organization and tactical conduct of campaigning. What is more, its potential for influencing the outlook of viewers is no longer so heavily discounted by scholars of political communication effects as was once the case some 15 years ago.

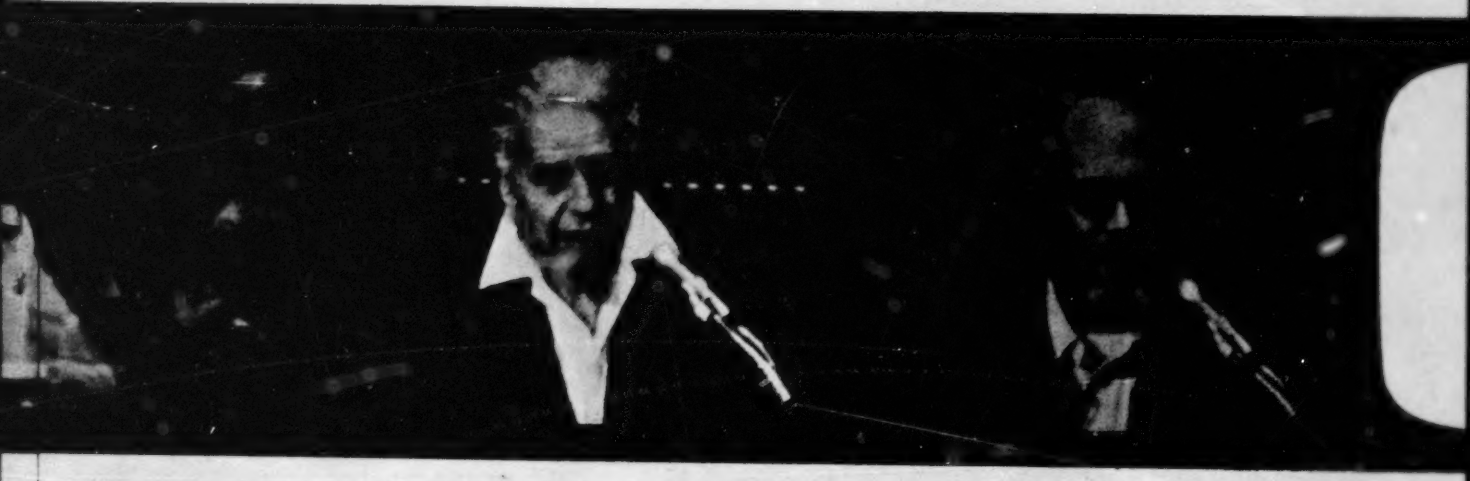
For all these reasons, the design of television's election role is vital. In the end, it should be helping to involve citizens in their society's political affairs, providing materials from which informed choices can be made, and strengthen confidence that political broadcasting exists to serve voters needs. But in order to advance these objectives, two operating principles, each equally legitimate and indispensible, have to be related effectively to each other.

*This material is based upon Dr. Blumler's remarks and on portions of his papers, "The Challenge of Election Broadcasting," and "The Intervention of Television in British Politics: A Research Paper for the Committee on the Future of Broadcasting," which he requested to be entered into the record of the symposium since there was not enough time to read the entire plan. Readers are encouraged to contact Dr. Blumler for copies of the papers at: Centre for Television Research, University of Leeds, Leeds, L52,9JT, England.

Dr. Elihu Katz | Dr. Robert Filep | Dr. Billie



Mr. Kenneth Lamb | Mr. William Ruben | Dr. Percy T



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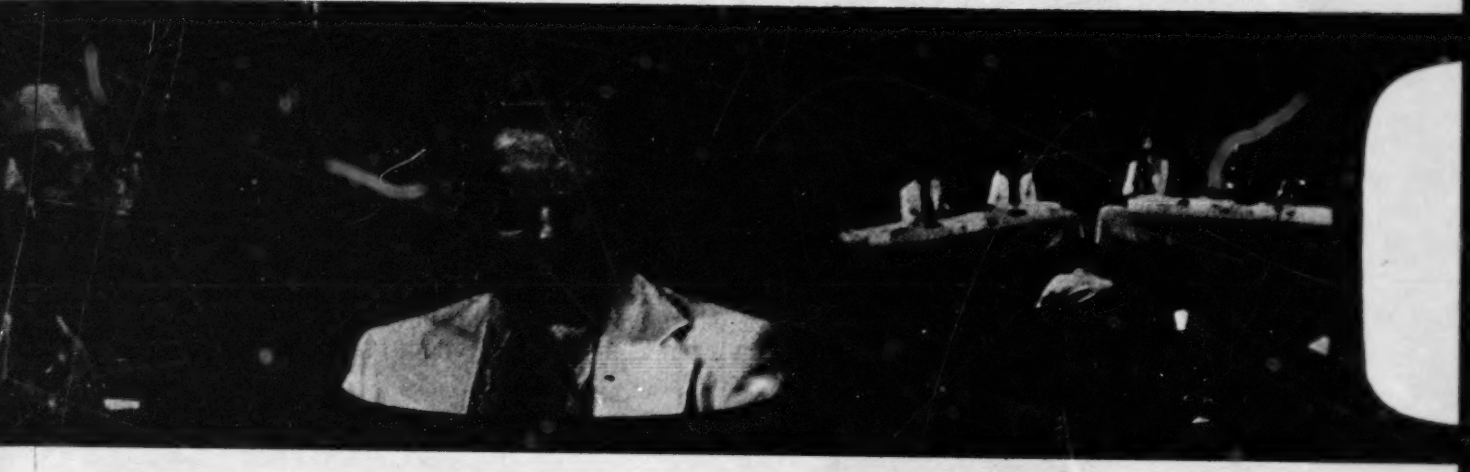


annenbaum Dr. Majid Teheranian

One principle stems from the fact that it is the political parties which pose the terms of the choice that the electorate has to make and the second operating principle is that in a public service election broadcasting system, broadcasters should act as trustees for the voters' campaign information needs. It then becomes necessary to find a way of inter-relating these principles, so that justice is done to each without loss of integrity to either, and so that voters' requirements are served as fully and effectively as possible.

Issues to be Studied. A central focus of the proposed study is the arrangements that were made for using television and radio during the two elections of 1974 and how they operated. These would be considered from a variety of standpoints. One is fairness among the parties. Another is the effectiveness of programming as a means of informing people and helping them to make up their minds. A third is maintenance of audience trust in the integrity of political debate. A fourth is the access that broadcasting can offer to those with something to say at election time.

Under the chairmanship of Lord Boyle, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, nominees of the political parties and the broadcasting organizations have already outlined a possible agenda of review topics. It was broadly agreed that the following issues would merit attention:

1. Audience outlook. What does the audience expect from (and fear about) political broadcasting these days? Has electoral respect for argument been declining? What special communication problems arise from increasing electoral volatility? What lessons can be learned from the audience's reaction to (a) differences in patterns of broadcasting between February and October 1974 and (b) coverage of the forthcoming Common Market Referendum campaign?

2. Party access. Have we yet found the most suitable way to enable party spokesmen to present their case to the public during a campaign? Are there formats in which a more leisurely and sustained exposition of a party view could be developed than is possible in the present pattern (consisting mainly of ten-minute broadcasts and short news clips)?

3. The role of the professional broadcaster. How might this be assessed and expected to evolve in the future? How important is the interviewer's function of holding politicians to account for their

policies and pronouncements as if on behalf of the viewer by proxy? Should he more often assume the role of mid-wife, as if helping other participants in the dialogue to express their own views more clearly? Would fairness and balance be better served by widening the circle of political reporters involved in broadcast journalism? Is there a case for using a variety of more committed commentators from all sectors of the political spectrum instead of expecting each broadcaster individually to be studiously neutral?

4. The voice of ordinary citizens. Innovations involving ordinary voters in programming have mushroomed lately and proved highly popular (e.g. Election Call, Granada 500, etc.). Can this element of audience participation be further developed constructively?

5. News coverage. Voters are probably more exposed to campaign materials through news bulletins than through any other program form. Have we yet found the right way to cover an election as news event? Has the reliance of news programs on press conference material, hustings, and 'walkabouts' gone too far? Is it better to strive to separate news items for current affairs comment and discussion or to incorporate both elements into a more combined format?

Differing Opinions on Effect of Mass Media. The political communication literature aptly illustrates how academic perspectives on a common problem may diverge radically from each other. Not long ago many students of mass persuasion asserted that exposure to mass media messages was unlikely to make much difference to the political thinking of audience members. This 'minimal effects' position arose largely from a series of studies, conducted in the 1940's and 1950's first in the United States and later in Britain, of the role of communication in election campaigns. In these, the central focus of investigation was either a comparison of people's early voting intentions with their recorded votes (in the context of how they had followed a campaign in the mass media) or the development of people's attitudes towards the competing parties and leaders over the period of a campaign (in relation to their exposure to election content in the mass media). The main impressions conveyed by the published outcomes of these early election studies were, first, that measured campaign change was limited in magnitude and inconsistent in direction, and second, that communication factors had played very little part in bringing about those changes that did occur.

A widely accepted view of the typical outcome of the communication experience was succinctly expressed by Joseph Klapper in a proposition put forward at several points in a highly authoritative review of the then available literature, The Effects of Mass Communication, which was published in 1960: 'Persuasive communication functions far more frequently as an agent of reinforcement than as an agent of change.' In other words, Klapper concluded, when people are exposed to mass media coverage of political affairs, they are more likely to be confirmed in their existing ideas, whatever they might be, than to be fitted out with new or modified ones.

Lately, however, some of the most active workers in the political communication field have with increasing insistency been signalling their conviction that this framework of data and interpretation is no longer valid and acceptable as had previously seemed the case. According to Kraus and Davis (forthcoming), for example, 'It is unwise to continue to use classical studies of the influence of the mass media upon election campaigns as reference points." The book on political communication effects must not be regarded as closed. That is why the recent literature is ripe with evermore frequent reference to a 'new look in political communication research' (Blumler and McLeod, 1974), to 'new strategies for reconsidering media effects' (Clarke and Kline, 1974) and even to a 'return to the concept of powerful mass media' (Noelle-Neumann, 1974a). There are at least four main sources of this shift of emphasis, each capturable in a phrase: new environment; new media; new models; new evidence.

Effect of Changes in Environment. The reinforcement doctrine of political communication impact was part and parcel of an overall weltanschauung that placed far more emphasis on the underlying stability of the world of politics than on its flux. Most voters had prior loyalties and stuck to them. In the characteristic words of one of the first students of campaign communication (Lazarsfeld, 1948): 'The subjects in our study tended to vote as they always had, in fact, as their families always had.' Today, however, the political environment no longer appears so stable to researchers as it did to their predecessors. Political scientists in one democratic country after another are documenting evidence of accelerating rates of electoral volatility.

A related environmental feature, which suggests that higher volatility rates may be no passing phenomenon, is a gradual erosion of some of the subsurface props of past electoral stability. For example, the power of social class to predict the ultimate destination of voters' ballots seems to be on the wane in Britain. Consequently, people are less likely to encounter a consistent and consistently reinforcing pattern of party loyalties in the particular social and work circles in which they move. Similarly, family socialization processes may no longer be capable of transmitting life-long partisan affiliations from parents to children so effectively as had been supposed in the past.

The implications of these environmental trends for communication roles in politics are tolerably clear. First, as traditional party ties lose their salience for people, and as their social situations become politically less homogeneous, the potential for mass communication to exert an influence correspondingly widens. Secondly, the enlarged body of floating voters can no longer be regarded as consisting mainly of people who have opted out of the political communication market. For example, a recent American analysis of floating voters concluded that '... electoral outcomes depend as much on floating by high media attentives as the low media attentives' (Dobson and St. Angelo, 1975). And those Leeds first-time voters of 1970 who had switched to a different party in February 1974 actually saw more political programmes on television during the latter campaign than did the more stable voters in the same sample. Thirdly, there is reason to suspect that in this era of

more widespread electoral volatility, issue outlook and policy preferences may tend to displace long-term party allegiances as a prime determinant of voting behaviour. Although relevant British data are not yet available, recent American research strongly suggests that this is happening in the United States at present (Miller and Miller, 1975).

The logic underlying this trend is well-stated by Himmelweit and Bond (1974): 'Where choice becomes less a matter of habit or tradition, one would expect that an individual's cognitions would play an increasingly important role in determining not only how but also whether he will vote.' It follows that how the mass media frame and project national issue agendas could also become more critical for the workings of the political process.

Comstock Comments--Alternative Considerations

George Comstock spoke about the work that he and his colleagues at Rand had done in developing an alternative agenda of research priorities. That work began by evaluating the state of scientific knowledge concerning television and social behavior. This evaluation led to some detailed research summaries and then to a survey of priorities and issues from the perspective of the scientific community. In his remarks Comstock discusses the strengths and omissions of the Katz agenda.

The Katz recommendations for research emerge from an acute and insightful analysis of the history of communications research that concludes, correctly in my opinion, that the field is now experiencing a renaissance. One of its most striking aspects is the articulation of the interests and concerns of broadcasters that depicts them fairly and accurately as having wide-ranging responsibilities which they to a considerable degree consciously acknowledge in regard to their influence.

Katz is correct that the violence studies conducted under the Surgeon General's program had a very salutary effect on the state of communications research, and that one result was to draw a new generation of researchers into the field. The larger implication is that in the management and funding of new research the possible impact on the field should be taken into account. If research support is limited to the collection of data, or the activity of well-established researchers, the impact on the field will be negligible.

Comstock View of Readings. Three challenges must be faced if communication research is to make a greater contribution to broadcasting.

(1) We must increase the credibility of findings to broadcasters and policymakers. To do this, we must design research that meets the criticism and objections that have been raised in the past.

(2) We must reduce the communications problem imposed by the wide variety of disciplines and fields of study that focus on television. To do so, we must design means of overcoming the barriers that presently inhibit communication among researchers.

(3) And we must enlarge the degree to which research is drawn upon by policymakers. To accomplish this, we must take concrete steps to insure that research is relevant to the needs of the policymakers, and to insure that those who make broadcast policy--in broadcasting and in the government--have the knowledge and counsel they need to interpret the findings of research.

To accomplish this, we must take concrete steps to insure that research is relevant to the needs of policymakers, and to insure that those who make broadcast policy--in broadcasting and in the government--have the knowledge and counsel they need to interpret the findings of research.

The assigning of priorities for research is very much the progeny of the assumptions adopted when the task is begun. Without such assumptions, the job would not be possible at all, for they constitute the rules by which some ideas are judged more or less acceptable and others are rejected.

The recommendations of Katz reflect the assumption that the interests of researchers and broadcasters coincide. He is correct that they share many interests. However, the practical effect of this assumption is to exclude inquiry that fails to excite broadcasters, and in particular the BBC broadcaster.

Socialization of Children. The omission that is most apparent is the influence of television in the socilization of children. Broadcasters typically think in terms of the intentions of programs, which in the case of children are usually either to instruct or to entertain. In both America and Britain, there are specific programs devoted to these purposes. To think of any other influence on children, whether it be through violence in cartoons or drama, the depiction of the world in the news, or the interpersonal relationships portrayed in situation comedy and soap opera, is for the broadcaster not only uncongenial but thoroughly discomforting. This would imply that he was ignoring much of his actual influence on society in order to pursue easier and more agreeable goals.

One of the major features of modern society is the degree to which television brings to the young experiences that once were within the boundaries of the ostensibly 'beneficent' censorship practiced by parents, teachers, and religious figures. The implications of this fact for the management and governance of television are large, and represent a topic where research has and can make a major contribution both to broadcasters and to knowledge.

Such an emphasis, although not a natural one for broadcasters, receives support not only from public concern, currently exemplified in the United States by the campaign against television being conducted by the American Medical Association and the national Parent-Teachers Association and the controversy over television advertising and children, but also from the interests of social and behavioral scientists, who have long given prominence to the study of child development and the nature of human learning.

This is an instance where an important issue will be ignored when the needs that broadcasters perceive themselves as having are the criteria for choosing new research. What is remarkable about the Katz recommendations is not their deviation from what the complaints of critics and the evolution of scientific inquiry would dictate, but their broad accommodation of the interest of so many parties and their high degree of compatibility with these two demanding standards.

Broadcasting, Research and Development

A special session was devoted to discussing the applicability of the Katz agenda to broadcasting in developing countries where research and broadcasting standards are just evolving. Panelists included Elihu Katz, Percy Tannenbaum, Robert Filep, and Majid Teheranian.

Majid Teheranian began the session with a caveat about what broadcasting can and cannot do for development and suggested examples of research he considers necessary within the Katz framework of diagnostic, critical, and evaluative research.

Broadcasters as well as development theorists and practioners have held high hopes for the role of communications in national development. The promises of new communications technologies for multi-media education, public health, family planning, rural development, social mobilization, political participation, and cultural revitalization have also inspired many new endeavours in order to fulfill some old hopes and aspirations. It is important, therefore, to look at the potential role of broadcasting in development more critically than is usually done in order to avoid the danger of turning the new enthusiasms into frustration and disillusionment.

Oral Traditions Strong. It must be recognized, first of all, that there are things that broadcasting can and cannot do for development. Broadcasting is only a subset of the national communications system. A large proportion of the people still have either no access to the media or have not yet been conditioned to be receptive to its messages. Oral traditions are still strong; primary and secondary social structures and communications networks (family, peer groups, etc.) have not yet been weakened by the influences of tertiary social structures and communications networks (voluntary and professional); old belief-systems still persist: and the need for objective information is not yet felt as keenly as it is in developed societies.

Consequently, opinion leadership (the father, the village headman, the teacher, the charismatic leaders) and the nexus of intimate, face-to-face human trust outweigh in importance that of an impersonal voice and an alien face that comes over the broadcasting media. Moreover, the mass media still continues to treat its diverse audiences as an undifferentiated mass with messages that are largely alien in origin, purpose, and design. To compound these problems, broadcasting in many developing countries is also considered as the voice of government and attitudes towards it are determined correspondingly.

In such a context, it is important therefore to bear in mind some of the conditions for effective media communication. Media communication can be effective only if:

--the message corresponds to known realities and epistemic communities;

--the source is credible;

--the message is accepted and legitimized by the opinion leaders;

--the message matches the level of knowledge of the audience;

--positive reinforcement of the message is commensurate with the needs and expectations of the audience;

--the message matches the medium and vice-versa;

--interactive communication facilitates revision of the message and its design and packaging;

--media technologies match the social and communication institutions;

--media communication is decolonized (unbalanced center-periphery information flows, stereotyped roles, talking to and with people rather than at people);

--messages are authenticated (media programming identity and participation).

Other Priorities. Without disagreeing with Professor Katz's excellent agenda, there are other important priorities to bear in mind from the point of the developing world. Just to cite a few examples:

In the area of diagnostic and policy research, these are some of the problems that call for urgent attention of researchers:

(1) Research on research: to assess the needs, priorities, and methodologies, organization, and finance of communications development in the same way that Professor Katz has done for Britain.

(2) The transfer, translation, and transformation of communications technology to adapt to the conditions of developing countries.

(3) The organization of broadcasting for responsibility, accountability, and creativity.

(4) The production and distribution of programs for national integration. political mobilization, and social differentiation.

(5) The revitalization of indigenous cultures through translation of oral traditions into multi-media forms.

(6) The programming identity (language, ethnicity, and nationhood).

(7) Satellite communication and its impact on regional/international conflict and cooperation.

In the area of critical research we may cite the following examples:

(1) Reordering of the present system of international communications.

(2) A study of the changing imageries of development and its implications for communications policy and planning.

(3) Who makes communications policy: a study of the interlocking political, economic, and communications elites.

(4) Media systems and structures with an emphasis on the recognition of important social, economic and political institutional linkages.

(5) A study of the impact of media on critical segments of the audience: children and youth, rural population, with emphasis on changing social structures and changing center-periphery relations (domestic as well as international).

In the area of evaluation research:

(1) Immediate feedback: daily bulletins but with carefully developed questions appropriate to the conditions of developing countries.

(2) Long-run impact analysis of the media over a period of time with a recognition of the diversity of audiences and social structures: a cultural comparison of social change.

International Cooperation Needed. Communications is becoming perhaps the most internationalized field of study in a way that such phrases as "The Global Village," "Instant Globalism," "The Global Peyton Place," and "The Global Circus" might suggest. For this reason, time series and comparative frameworks for the study of its impact are becoming increasingly necessary for any kind of meaningful analysis. It is only international cooperation which would allow empirical research in a large number of diverse and changing cultural and political environemnts. But in some developing countries, where if you publish you perish, international cooperation and its halo effect might be also necessary to protect researchers and research findings.

There is a Chinese proverb which says that the "significance of the vessel is not in the shell but in the void." Communications is that void, but what shapes, molds, and uses it is the vessel of social and economic networks which determine its capacity for good or evil, fulfillment or alienation. Standard of performance for broadcasting should measure not only what it does and what it ought to do for development--but also what it can do--which is an economic and political question.

During the question and answer session, Katz emphasized the need for research and programming activities to reflect the developing country's pluralism, culture, and spirit of indigenous tradition.

Mass media are very powerful agents of the status quo and are underlying the old kind of colonial dependence between the developing and Western worlds. But we don't know because there is so little work being done.

My position is that the developing world deserves better than the importing of Western programs (often Western junk) to radio and television in these countries. It deserves to be a world in which pluralism, that is to say, more authentic self-expression on the part of the countries, should be encouraged.

How to translate and under what conditions the traditional arts are at all translatable into the language of radio and television remains a question. But it is my opinion that these arts deserve to find a place on the television screen so that if one comes to Thailand or Iran, which have rich visual traditions, and find instead of some continuity of these traditions, 'Kojak' and 'Peyton Place' on the screen, one raises more than an eyebrow. One raises serious doubts about the validity of the huge investment in broadcasting in the developing countries and in what ways broadcasting is contributing to the high hopes for modernization.

Lessons of Previous Media Involvement. Percy Tannenbaum cited three lessons which could be learned from previous involvement of mass media in development. The first of these is that politicians and the people in charge of the media in the Western world operate as though the role of the media were entertainment. They believe that by transferring "Peyton Place" and "Kojak" to developing countries, they are helping to "Westernize" or "develop" those countries. "It creates an illusion of modernity," he explained.

He further suggested that apart from any deliberate intent to create an illusion of modernity, feedback devices tell the broadcaster that viewers like "Kojak". "They have to go along with popularity ratings for self-protection, if no other reason."

Tannenbaum's third lesson concerned the universality of programming and popular appeal.

I am overwhelmed by the fact that there are similar shows which are very popular in different cultures. It either testifies to some universal desire or appeal of a certain format of programming and a certain type of presentation to very diverse types of people or that the diversity is more apparent than real. . .that people are really, despite superficial cultural differences at base, much more the same.

Tannenbaum concluded by saying that television is not an instrument for national development but rather a "simple entertainment medium."

Good or bad, (people) are entertained more and they like it. Those in other cultures who have felt perhaps denied an image of the outside world find a sense of participation merely by virtue of being exposed to it.

Katz, considering Tannenbaum's comments, spoke again:

I agree that the purpose of television is not only to illuminate, but to ventilate--that is the fantasy function, to ventilate the frustrations and stresses of local change by providing a fantasy world of self-gratification and self-expression--but judging from our studies and the studies of others, I think it is fair to say that the image that American thrillers and adventure stories are the most popular programs in the world can be challenged in country after country by the success of local programs.

He admits that these local programs have been modeled after Western serials but only in terms of format--the content remains unique and indigenous. He believes that these programs have potential for national integration and cultural self-expression.

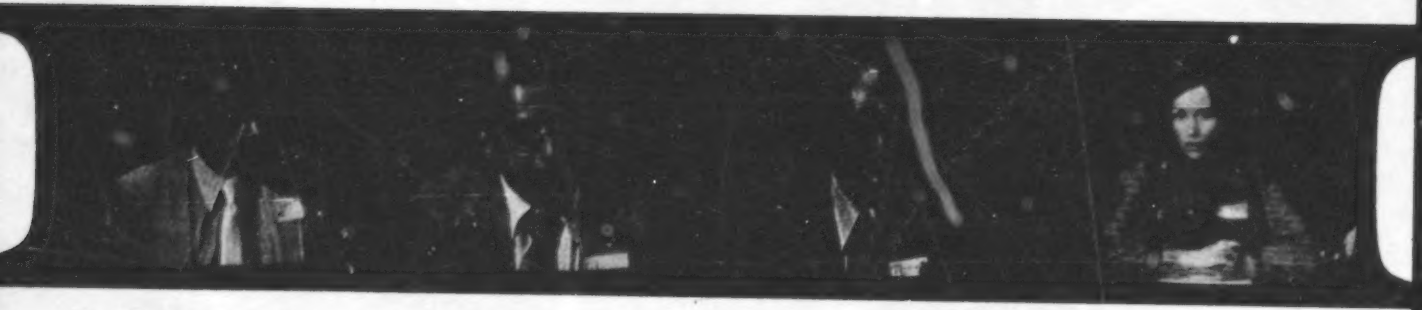
Robert Filep entered the discussion by commenting on his experience in India where satellite programmers used the traditional India theater as a format for programs that were then beamed to 15,000 villages which had had no previous contact with television.

It was indeed a very effective bridge (to enable) people in rural villages to understand the message. . .

If there is a tradition in the culture of the art form that can be communicated on television particularly when people are seeing it for the first time, it can be very effective. It does not dilute the art form but it is a format that is known and recognized.

The program had impact on the villages, both in the agricultural and family planning areas, and also in cultural (entertainment) areas. A pre-school program patterned after "Sesame Street" taught youngsters to count and do the alphabet in Hindi. Now whether continued demands by these same and similar villages talks to effectiveness or not is debatable--but the experiment created a climate, the states now want it, and they are getting more programs and television capability.

Interpretation and Clarification!



Dr. Thomas Martin Mr. Herbert Dordick Dr. Richard Byrne Ms. Dianne Bozler

The Rapporters!

THE FUTURE

Throughout the symposium, comments were made about how Katz's report might be implemented and what results could be expected.

Can the research community respond to the challenge?

Kenneth Lamb has made some kind remarks about certain selected individuals around here and establishing mutual trust, which I think is very critical. But that does not characterize total research and you have here an agenda, for not only two hundred dissertations but perhaps even some more serious research.

The important question has to do with the set of mutual symptoms, if you will, on the part of broadcasters, a label we've applied to a very diverse category, at least the administrative versus the production people is an important breakdown. And within both of those categories there are other critical breakdowns to make. So what we call broadcasters and label with a single word, I think doesn't reflect a unanimity of readiness to participate, of incentives--what they are going to get out of it and so on.

----- Percy Tannenbaum

If you are seriously concerned about finding ways in the institutional setting of making a better home for whatever contribution can be made to policy, then surely one has also to understand that institutional setting in its actual mode of working.

----- Jay Blumler

What is very new you might call policy research or policy-related research and there's a new distinction emerging that's really quite important. It's research we do for our reasons which may be used somewhere in the policy process to either support one of several positions to make the point they want to make, to boost it up. The other is, I guess I call it <u>policy analysis</u> and

it really starts from the agenda set by the policy makers. What questions they need answered. That is applied research of the best kind in a sense, it is totally set and totally empirical, often quite free and that envokes knowing a lot about the policy environment, knowing about political feasibility, economic feasibility and blending them together with other social sciences, sociological and psychological. The problem I find with almost all of the regular social science research is that it doesn't really address in a comprehensive way the policy environment at all.

----- Percy Tannenbaum

George Comstock's thoughtful 'alternative' agenda suggests additional considerations, some of which were proposed earlier from the symposium floor. Research has a better chance of acceptance when it is issue-oriented and problem-solving. Most of the issues in Dr. Katz's agenda are indeed part of the regular research activities at the networks; their usefulness in this country depends on the ability of the research to contribute to the decision-making process.

The report skips lightly over methodological developments. I have found that we do not embark on a research activity until we have some thoughts about how to do it. For example, at NBC Research we have been discussing a study of the 'dynamics of viewing' for the last two years. We have not commissioned any specific project because we have not yet developed a satisfactory method for dealing with this problem.

Part of the background required for the researcher should be a working familiarity with viewing trends in broadcasting. I would be strongly of the opinion that becoming familiar with audience viewing patterns will provide the researcher with a better framework for theory development and hypothesis testing.

----- William Rubens

I personally find the present state of communication research not quite as promising as Katz paints in his report. While there has been a renaissance of late in the field--more researchers doing more things with more money, by and large--most of it is unimaginative, more is becoming ideologically motivated rather than scientific, and the main contributions in innovative methodology, theory, and approaches still come mainly from outside the field. I think it will be necessary to attract the 'outsiders' if this agenda is to be realized, and this may not be as simple a task as it appears since such individuals are usually even more motivated by their own research agendas. There are significant areas of overlap, to be sure, and these must be exploited.

----- Percy Tannenbaum

It opens the door for humanists to do research in broadcasting...Ideally, humanistic contributions to social research would be theoretical. We can bring to social research functional aesthetics which would aid the industry. Thus, if broadcasting has a 'bad effect' on people, a sting aesthetic would help improve it. If a broadcast's effect is not bad, then aesthetics can help explain why and how it works. That would lead--either way--to bigger audiences and audiences better served.

Secondly, humanists can bring in new and useful methodologies--especially critical and interdisciplinary--which can help create an interface of myth and culture with physics, economics, social science, and cognitive psychology. Humanists have traditionally bridged the gaps between creative process, analysis of creative projects, and responses to that process. Therefore, they are integral to new research on broadcasting and in the establishment of closer relationships between broadcaster.

----- Billie Jo Wahlstrom

We've been talking about the research that social scientists will do to help somehow the broadcaster do his or her job. But what is interesting to me, and we've heard a lot about the different background of all the social scientists that are here, I would like to propose that we also need to do some sort of research on the social scientists who are making the policy recommendations. It seems to me that in any particular group we have a hidden agenda because of our training and because of our background perhaps. I'd like to see if we couldn't suggest some research on the social scientists who are making all of these recommendations which then the broadcasters will supposedly implement.

----- George Comstock

A significant feature conspicuous by its absence in the report is a set of theoretical perspectives, let alone a single overreaching one. I personally believe this is as it should be, since innovative theories are not a feature of the present social science scene. My own guess is that such an agenda, if properly carried out, can be a significant stimulus to new theoretical insights. Scholars and researchers may want to convince themselves otherwise, but an agenda with obvious policy implications is usually better guided by purely empirical, distinctively problem-oriented considerations than by preconceived theoretical schemes.

----- Percy Tannenbaum

The question 'Where do we go from here?' concerns us all whether we are broadcasters or whether we are researchers or whether we are simply members of society.

----- Kenneth Lamb

Broadcasting institutions are always at risk--they should not become preoccupied with their own survival.

Broadcasters need help in learning more about the effects of what they do--and how to communicate more effectively. They need to demonstrate that they are broadening the perspective of their work.

We need--broadcasters and researchers--to pursue the search for relevant knowledge, within a relevant framework. Perhaps an independent, international Broadcasting Research Trust?

The BBC is making a start in responding to the Katz proposals--e.g., to keep track of 'the boundaries of taste' through a large-scale continuous national survey; to work with Professor Tannenbaum in experimenting with ways of attracting audiences to more serious programming.

----- Kenneth Lamb

CONCLUSION

Perhaps the overriding conclusion of the symposium was that the Katz report was indeed a major contribution to broadcasting research. This conclusion was indicated not only by the content of the report but also by the quantity of discussion and ideas generated at the meeting.

Katz suggests a list of innovative and comprehensive projects, but perhaps more importantly, he emphasizes the common ground shared by those responsible for putting broadcast material on the air and those who examine broadcasting's role and effects. However, he does not insist that the relationship be a close one, but rather that it depend on the particular research goal at hand. An adversary or distant relationship can also be constructive, he reminds us. Other important points are his emphasis on the role of television as entertainment and on the need to involve researchers from other disciplines in broadcast research.

Perceived omissions of the report--a lack of certain theoretical perspectives, perhaps some invalid assumptions--were brought out and discussed in a constructive manner, and Katz thanked the participants for these contributions.

> It's very important in this sense not to see the contribution of a social science research approach as restricted to helping the broadcasters set boundaries or even to creating better programs directly. I would defend to the end the proposition that this is a policy-oriented document, and yet its real thrust is not in delivery of specific bits and pieces of information to broadcasters, but to a better understanding of the communications process of which they have a major share. They are creating culture in interacting with audiences and this is a process which we need to know more about.

The particular insights gained from the symposium will vary from participant to participant, but there is no doubt that the symposium was an enriching experience for all who attended. In reflecting upon Katz's visit, Dean Frederick Williams said:

> Dr. Katz is one of the most thoughtful and perceptive researchers in the field of communications. His research and insights regarding the social and cultural impact of mass communications continue to provide valuable contributions to academicians, broadcasters, and lay audiences. The members of the USC community and those who attended the symposium have been enriched intellectually and challenged to greater sensitivity to the issues in the

field by virtue of Dr. Katz's presence at the Annenberg School of Communications.

The conclusion of the symposium was therefore a beginning: participants and panelists took with them new ideas which they can apply in their work. Since our goal in these proceedings has been to let the participants speak for themselves, we will give the last word to one of them:

I'd just like to say that it was noticeable from reports of groups. . . that a lot of problems of getting this kind of enterprise off the ground were noticed, were diagnosed (and) it was right that those discussions should take the path. But I think an enterprise like this which Elihu has invited us to consider is so important in terms of the purpose it can be devoted to and in terms of bringing together talents that need to be brought together but are often expended in different compartments. (Therefore). . .in addition to that form of analytical scrutiny of the problem, one needs, I think, and I mention this explicitly, a touch, an element of faith that if one goes in this direction all right, the whole thing won't be realized but it will be worthwhile to have moved that way, despite all the difficulties in following up that approach in the American environment.

----- Jay Blumler

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

SYMPOSIUM SCHEDULE

Thursday, August 4, 1977

Plenary Session I

Welcome, Introductions, and Procedures
Robert Filep, Symposium Chairperson
Annenberg School of Communications

"Social Research on Broadcasting:
Proposals for Further Development"
Elihu Katz
The Hebrew University of Jeruselem

Discussion
Kenneth Lamb, British Broadcasting Corp.
Percy Tannenbaum, University of California, Berkeley
William Rubens, National Broadcasting Company
Billie J. Wahlstrom, University of Southern California
George Comstock, RAND Corporation

Audience Interventions

Afternoon Workshops

"Critique, Expansion, and Items Conspicuous
by their Omission Sessions..."

Chairpersons	*Rapporters*
P. Tannenbaum	*D. Bozler*
J. Blumler	*R. Byrne*
G. Comstock	*T. Martin*
K. Lamb	*H. Dordick*

Plenary Session II

Rapporters Report

Question and Answer Session, Clarification of Issues
Katz, Lamb, Tannenbaum, Comstock, Blumler

Audience Intervention

Evening Panel Discussion

"Establishing Standards of Performance for Broadcasting Systems in Developing Countries --The Context and Role of Research, if Any"

E. Katz
P. Tannenbaum
M. Teheranian, Iran Communications and Development Institute
R. Filep, Moderator

Friday, August 5, 1977

Plenary Session III

"Entertainment and Research"
Percy Tannenbaum

"Television, Politics, and Research"
Jay Blumler, University of Leeds

"Scientific Goals vs. Broadcasting Needs"
George Comstock

Discussion
Katz, Lamb, Wahlstrom, Rubens, Teheranian

Audience Interventions

Conclusion and Adjournment
Robert Filep
Frederick Williams, Dean, Annenberg School of Communications

APPENDIX B
PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHIES

DR. JAY BLUMLER is the Director of the Centre for Television Research and a Reader in Mass Communications at the University of Leeds, England. He has studied extensively the relationship between broadcasting, politics, and public opinion--producing numerous publications including The Political Effects of Mass Communications and Impact of Television on Public Opinion. Several works are forthcoming.

MS. DIANNE A. BOZLER is the Assistant for Student Affairs at the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Southern California. She earned a B.A. degree in English from Ohio State University and an M.A. degree in Communication from Cornell University. Ms. Bozler is the co-author of an article, "Preschool Children's Television Viewing: An Update," to be published in the Journal of Broadcasting later this year.

DR. RICHARD B. BYRNE, the Associate Dean and a Professor at the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Southern California, has produced over 50 multimedia presentations for industry and education. He was the author-producer-host of "The Film Scene," five half-hour color programs for public television, and served as the Principal Investigator on "Study of Local Government Uses of Cable Television." He is also the author of 12 articles in various recent communication publications.

DR. GEORGE COMSTOCK, a Senior Scientist at the Rand Corporation, works specifically in the area of the social influence of television. He is the senior editor of a five-volume series, Television and Social Behavior, the senior author of several articles dealing with television violence, uses of research in broadcasting policy, and children and television. He was formerly a reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle.

MR. HERBERT S. DORDICK is the Associate Director of the Center for Communications Policy Research at the University of Southern California. He is also the author of numerous articles in the area of cable television and the use of technology in education and urban development. Mr. Dordick was

formerly an Adjunct Professor in Electrical Engineering at the University of California at Santa Barbara and at Los Angeles, a Senior Member of the research staff at the Rand Corporation, and the Director of the Office of Telecommunications in New York City.

DR. ROBERT T. FILEP is Professor of Communications and Education at the University of Southern California and Director of the university-wide Learning Systems Center. He is the author of numerous papers on telecommunications and educational technology and was a Fulbright Lecturer in India on the use and evaluation of the ATS-6 satellite. Dr. Filep has served as Director of the National Center for Educational Technology, of the U.S. Office of Education; Vice President of the Institute for Educational Development; and President of the National Society for Performance and Instruction and the Educational Media Council.

DR. ELIHU KATZ is the Director of the Communications Institute and a Professor of Sociology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is also a Research Associate at the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research, and a member of the Board of Directors of the U.S. Educational Foundation in Israel. He has been a principal researcher and co-author of a number of important publications, including Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communication, Medical Innovation: A Different Study, The Politics of Community Conflict: The Floridation Decision, Bureaucracy and the Public: A Reader on Official-Client Relations, The Uses of Mass Communication: Current Perspectives or Gratification Research, and The Secularization of Leisure: Culture and Communication in Israel.

MR. KENNETH LAMB is the Director of Public Affairs for the British Broadcasting Corporation. His role at the BBC involves coordinating parliamentary and political policy, foreign information, and audience research. He has been a member of the BBC Board of Management since 1969, serving previously as Secretary, head of religious programming, chief assistant to current affairs, and producer of both radio and television. Lamb is a graduate of Trinity College, Oxford.

DR. THOMAS H. MARTIN is an Assistant Professor at the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Southern California and the author of several works concerning communications technology, information sciences, law and computers, and communications law. He earned a B.A. degree in mathematics at Dartmouth College; an LL.B. degree in law at the University of California, Berkeley; and a Ph.D. degree in communication at Stanford University.

MR. WILLIAM S. RUBENS is the Vice President of Research and Corporate Planning for the National Broadcasting Company. He has previously held the position of Vice President of Audience Research and Director of Marketing Services at NBC. Mr. Rubens is the past President of the Radio and Television Research Council and is currently a member of the American Marketing Association, the Media Research Directors Association Advisory Council, the Committee of Nationwide Television Audience Measurement, and the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences.

DR. PERCY TANNENBAUM is currently a Professor at the Graduate School of Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley. He is also a Research Psychologist and the Director of the Mass Communication Project at the Institute of Human Learning. Formerly, he was Director of the Mass Communication Research Center at the University of Wisconsin and a Professor of Communication and Psychology at the University of Pennsylvania.

DR. MAJID TEHERANIAN is President of the Iran Communications and Development Institute and the former Director of the Prospective Planning Project of National Iranian Television. He serves as editor of Communication and Development Review (Teheran) and Secretary of the Joint Commission on Information and Social Communication for the Sixth Plan of Iran. He is also a member of the Society for General Systems Research and the International Association for Mass Communications Research. Dr. Teheranian was graduated with a B.A. degree from Dartmouth College. He earned his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University.

DR. BILLIE J. WAHLSTROM is an Assistant Professor of English at the University of Southern California. She also teaches courses in the Women's Studies and American Studies Programs. Dr. Wahlstrom's most recent publication, "Method in our Media Madness: The Hero, the Harlot, and the Glorified Horse," appeared in the June issue of Intellect Magazine. She has two works in progress; a college textbook examining issues in the mass media and in popular culture, and an anthology of critical writings about women writers and issues influencing their work.

DR. FREDERICK WILLIAMS, the Dean of and a Professor at the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Southern California, is the author of 60 recent articles in scholarly journals and a contributor to three recent books in the communication areas. He also has a publication entitled "Communication and Social Class" in preparation. Dr. Williams teaches in the areas of language and communication research design and statistics, communication theory and practices, and social stratification.

APPENDIX C

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APPENDIX D

FOOTNOTES

[1]Elihu Katz. Social research on broadcasting: Proposals for further development, report to the British Broadcasting Corporation (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1977).

The full report may be obtained by writing to BBC Representative, British Broadcasting Corporation, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10020. The price is $10.00 per copy, which includes airmail postage from the United Kingdom. Checks and money orders should be made payable to the British Broadcasting Corporation.

[2]E. Katz. Looking for trouble: Social research on broadcasting, A Lecture presented in the eleventh series of BBC lunch-time lectures in the Concert Hall at the Broadcasting House, London, February 25, 1977, p. 1.

[3]Katz, Lecture, p. 2.

[4]Katz, Lecture, p. 2.

[5]Katz, Lecture, p. 3.

[6]Katz, Report, p. 19.

[7]Katz, Report, p. 27.

[8]Katz, Report, p. 28.

[9]Katz, Report, p. 28. See also G. S. Lesser. Children and Television: Lessons from Sesame Street (New York: Random House, 1974).

[10]Katz, Report, pp. 40-41.

[11]Katz, Report, p. 61.

[12]Katz, Report, p. 79.

[13]Katz, Report, p. 85.

[14]Katz, Lecture, p. 10.

[15]Katz, Lecture, p. 14.